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lighten that of the young shaman who has to confide these things to memory. Here stops the exclusive rôle of the *dorarákit* or shaman as far as religious instruction is concerned.

Dancing and singing, whether religious or otherwise, are learned by pure imitation. Songs are improvised most of the time; the only exceptions are a few scattered terms and a limited number of sentences, more especially a kind of refrain or burden, that recurs at the end of every verse or every stanza in most Isneg songs. These traditional terms and sentences are mostly archaic, and their meaning is a mystery to at least the generality of the Isneg; perhaps some of them have never had any meaning at all.

All Isneg beliefs, whether they have to do with magic or with religion, whether they refer to the world of spirits or to the state of a person after death, are simply picked up, or, as the Isneg put it, "they hear them (*maxi-náda da*)." This means that there is no formal instruction about the matter. Aged persons, particularly old women, and still more especially shamans, freely talk about these things at the slightest provocation, and youngsters are always eager to listen to them. This, however, does not exclude the possibility and even the probability of the members of the older generation talking about magical or religious beliefs purposely and with the direct intention of telling the children about them. And that such instruction, whether intended or not, is sometimes really very efficacious is proved by the fact that I have had among my informants girls of barely ten years old who know everything about certain spirits and could vividly describe them to me. This is the more easily understood when one remembers that all these extraordinary details agree very well with the usual trend of the Isneg mind toward the supernatural, so that the children experience little difficulty in keeping them impressed upon their memory.

Myths and legends, stories and tales, which by the way are sometimes far from being religious, are mostly related by the parents and grandparents in the evening, when the whole family is stretched out on the floor and ready to sleep. The Isneg are not in the habit of making much use of artificial light, and they very often go to sleep almost at sunset, so that there is usually ample time for the old people to comply with the wishes of the youngsters, who among them as well as among us, are always eager to hear a story, and the more fantastic the story, the better. Even young boys and girls are sometimes invited to play the rôle of story-teller, provided they are known

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836 course, and the distinction seems rather to be theoretical than prac-
673 tical: nevertheless that is what is going on in the Isneg mind as far
684 as I understand it. To them purpose and intention mean very little,
672 as will be shown again very soon when I shall refer to killing as a crime; what counts is the result. If a boy chances to sleep with a girl without rendering her pregnant, the Isneg may perhaps not see anything very wrong in the whole affair, but woe to him if fate is against him.

836 Nevertheless with reference to young women, the code is much
684 stricter, although the boy will suffer a much harder immediate punishment for his delinquency than will the girl. A girl should never think of doing anything in that line; a boy might perhaps be inclined to do it, but he should know the consequences, if the result is what it should not be.

834 I have described in my introduction to this paper how certain
626 Isneg parents refused to send their girls to school on account of the notoriously immoral conduct of their teacher, and here is what we read in a little manual of instructions for soldiers of the Philippine Constabulary: "No Isneg woman should be joked with or touched by anyone. Christian cargadores or servants should be cautioned about this, as serious trouble may result".[2]

836 Once I heard a boy of some twelve years old, who was working for
●533 wages here at Kabugaw, improvise a little song, probably in order to render the work less heavy and to relieve his tiredness. The song was not what you would call a religious one, but it served to show very nicely the ideas current among these people, and at the same time it proved that even the Isneg understood the meaning of what is called an "occasion of sin" (in this case: the sin of impregnating a girl). I may be permitted to write the song down exactly as I heard it: "Do not approach my vulva, I do not want you to have sexual intercourse with me, I am afraid of becoming pregnant: so say the women".

836 A boy who has made a girl pregnant has to marry her; if he refuses,
684 the raids just referred to take place without exception, and the family of the boy loses everything. The same happens when a married man commits adultery with a girl and impregnates her; in his case of course there is rarely question of marriage, and the raids take place almost without exception. Formerly the boy must have been for-

[113]

[2] Camp John Hay Guide Book. A Trip to Ifugao and Bontoc. By Captain Harrington W. Cochran, Coast Artillery Corps, 1923, p. 28.

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584 832 534 [828] 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any member of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few of their most outstanding characteristics:

The *kuribáw*, a kind of Jew's-harp, entirely made of bamboo, whose tongue is struck by the finger at its fixed base.

The *axiwáń*, another kind of Jew's-harp, partially made of bamboo, whose metal tongue is moved by a string.

The *balikiń* or nose flute, which consists of a slender tube of bamboo, open at both ends, and provided with holes along its length, three at one side and one at the other.

584 832 533 2. The singing of love songs (*magdaldallán*). This is done in the daytime as well as in the evening, whenever the boy is moved by concupiscence (*makibabbáy*). Such songs, however, are not the exclusive property of the male sex.

584 834 192 3. The pronunciation of special terms, otherwise meaningless, that are supposed to have a magical influence on the female sex. These are interwoven in the verses of the song and more or less connected with the rest of the sentence. Such terms are: *dumaripón, dumiñidiń, dumardarobó*, etc.

584 832 302 824 4. The use of perfumes (*bańúg*), usually consisting of fragrant herbs or leaves stuck in the headband; although unseen by the girl in the evening, these perfumes forcibly strike her nostrils in an agreeable manner. Any kind of perfume may be used for the purpose, but the most esteemed on such occasions is the *malindáw* (called *indáw* at Bolo). The *malindáw* is a small tree covered with spines and provided with very aromatic leaves. The *Andn* brook near Dangla flows through a thicket that is renowned for the abundance and variety of its odoriferous plants: *sildyon* (aromatic leaves, parasitic on trees), *ditán* (aromatic seeds, a kind of rattan), *malindáw*, etc.

584 832 776 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Asindw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accompanies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf of her lover.

46: Wilson
533, 854

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[For the texts of some Apayao nursery and feast songs, see category 539, pp. 35-39. --Analyst]

In the morning the family prepares the food for 796
the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and 574
pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. 252
The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys 462
carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who be- 202
gin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes.

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* 796
and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings 574
of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are 264
wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed 782
around. One package of food is placed for the family [778]
anito under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed.

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the 535
afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the 796
women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instru- 534
ments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log 574
with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each [533]
has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands 535
a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk- 796
574

535 ing in the clear space and is joined by a woman, per-
796 chance of his own choice. Occasionally a highly hon-
574 ored guest has two partners. They raise and wave their arms and hands resembling the wings of a bird in flight. The man gestures with his outspread cloth and goes in a circle somewhat reminiscent of a youth courting a girl. Their feet begin to shuffle and then stamp in cadence to the music. In the middle of the dance one of the family brings *basi* for the dancers and musicians to drink. The music rapidly becomes faster and louder so that the dancers must stamp harder and faster and raise their knees higher. This is such hard exercise that one of the couple soon gives up and goes and sits down. His partner follows suit and the music stops. The man hands his cloth to a friend, who starts the next dance. This dance is difficult to learn, and only long experience makes one
[53] proficient in it. Sometimes, if some famous old warrior does not choose to dance, the people shout, and he recounts his noble deeds in the characteristic chant, *oggayam*.

Meanwhile the people are talking and joking.[1] The (1)
is happy. Dancing and talking become more excit- (4)
and once in awhile drinks pass around: so everybody (3)
basi has been dug up from underneath the granary (2)
[53] ing. Sometimes two men contest in a long debate (5)
over some such matter as the quality of the feast. They talk in the characteristic chant, *palawag*. If one of the men cannot chant, he shouts. The party is be-
796 coming noisy. There is some enjoyable antiphonal
574 singing. A group of boys sing and a group of girls
● 533 answer: sometimes using well-known songs with a
786

[1] [The numbers to the right of the text indicate the proper sequence of lines.--Analyst]

pleasing lilt or perchance composing words in honor of some guest or circumstance. The tune used is called the *salecdomey*. Somewhere a boy may be openly courting the girl of his choice in a characteristic chant *adkaling*, but often composing his own words. Food and sweets may be served two or three times in the night, and the party goes on with increasing excitement, as more and more *basi* is consumed. Drunken quarrels may break out, leading to blows. Killings are not infrequent. One must have had quite a few drinks in order to really enjoy this party.

Along towards morning the music stops and the tired people lie down to sleep—either in that or adjacent houses. If, perchance, a boy has been successful in his courtship, he may follow his girl to where she lies down. After some further discussion, she probably accepts him.

The feast may continue the next day and next, according to the wishes and wealth of the family, and how long the *basi* and food lasts. At the end of the feast, the priestess again calls the *anito*: she tells it that they hope that it is pleased with its feast and will now grant their requests. Then the guests start for home. The relatives are each given some meat to take with them, and soon all is quiet again.

Probably the most popular feast is the *say-am*, given for the *anito*, Pilay, after the harvest. The *dildap* is a small, short feast given for the *anito Kaybacan*, sometimes for the health or welfare of the family, or to clinch some agreement. There is no dancing. The *magboto* is given before, and the *boda* after. a head hunting expedition as described elsewhere. The

764 A fence is constructed around the house, and all neighbors are strictly prohibited, *canao*, from entering [822] it or even from coming around the place. The rela- [262] tives dress in white as a sign of mourning and drink *basi*; but they do not eat rice nor meat; only plain food, such as camotes and bananas. There is no music, dancing, or singing; only mourning in order that the spirit of the dead may be happy in the knowledge that they miss him.

The corpse is bathed, dressed, and laid out on a mat, length-wise with the house. Then the nearest relative (husband or wife), with hair cut short and dressed in white, must lie down by the side of the corpse just as if it were still alive, and remain there without food and without moving for two or three days, all during the *callas*. After a while it becomes torture for the person to stay still; but when he does move without permission, the relatives of the dead are there to punish him and force him to pay them indemnity.

764 While this is going on, all the relatives are eat- 533 ing, drinking and mourning. This mourning is not so much the grief of parting, but rather as entertainment for the dead. There are certain specified shouts and talking back and forth, using certain old cadences: sometimes expressing pity or carrying on vigorous debates which almost seem quarrelsome. As the *callas* continues, it all makes quite a noise.

764 In the meantime, the corpse has begun to smell and putrify. A relative takes some of the fluid beginning to come out of the mouth, ears, and eyes of the decaying body and rubs it as an ointment all over